

Message Text

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SUBJECT: NATO LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM

REFS: A. USNATO 3884, DTG 151244Z APR 78; B. USNATO 3962,
DTG 181344Z APR 78; C. USNATO 4033 DTG 191745Z APR 78

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1. WE AGREE ON TACTICAL DESIRABILITY OF HOLDING CHANGES IN
SUMMIT TEXT TO A MINIMUM, AND FOLLOW THIS PRINCIPLE IN THE
FOLLOWING COMMENTS. WE AGREE THAT SPECIFIC OVERALL COSTS
ARE NO LONGER POSSIBLE BECAUSE THE TRAIN KEEPS MOVING.
WE ALSO AGREE THAT "SUBSIDIARY MEASURES" SHOULD BE
ACCOUNTED FOR IN A SPECIFIC PARAGRAPH IN EACH ANNEX. BUT
WE BELIEVE TEXT SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED, AND OFFER FOLLOW-
ING NON-CONTROVERSIAL LANGUAGE WHICH SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

2. WE BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT THE "RELATIVELY SHORT NOTE"

FOR THE SUMMIT SHOULD HAVE A COVER NOTE BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL THAT LAYS OUT CLEARLY THE SINGULAR OPPORTUNITY FOR SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT TO NATO DEFENSE INHERENT IN THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM. IN OUR VIEW, THE TURGID PRESENTATION OF THE IS TEXT, WHILE ACCOMMODATING THE VARIOUS BUREAUCRATIC PRESSURES IN NATO, DOES SO TO A POINT THAT OBSCURES THE BASIC VALUE OF THE LTDP. WE SEE THE LTDP NOT JUST AS ANOTHER PLANNING EXERCISE, BUT

RATHER AS A DEVICE TO PULL TOGETHER KEY ASPECTS OF TWELVE DISPARATE NATIONAL DEFENSE EFFORTS AND GAIN THE MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE FROM THE OVER 150 BILLION DOLLARS BEING SPENT ANNUALLY IN NATO DEFENSE. OUR SUGGESTED LANGUAGE FOLLOWS:

"IN FORWARDING THE ATTACHED REPORT ON THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM FOR CONSIDERATION, I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT HAVE BEFORE THEM A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO ENSURE AN EFFECTIVE NATO DEFENSE WITHIN REASONABLY ATTAINABLE EXPENDITURES. BY CONTINUING THE EFFORT TO INCREASE DEFENSE EXPENDITURES ANNUALLY BY THREE PERCENT IN REAL TERMS AS CALLED FOR IN MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE OF 1977 AND BY ATTAINING THE

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DEGREE OF COOPERATION IN DEFENSE PROGRAMMING CALLED FOR IN THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM, NATO CAN MAKE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN COPING WITH THE CONTINUING GROWTH IN SOVIET/WARSAW PACT OFFENSIVE CAPABILITIES. WE SHOULD LOOK ON THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM AS BASIC TO NATO DEFENSE IMPROVEMENT, NOT MERELY AS ANOTHER PLANNING EXERCISE. I ASK HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH IT IN THIS LIGHT."

3. INSERT THE FOLLOWING AT THE END OF PARA 1 OF INTRODUCTION, EITHER AS A CONTINUATION OF THE PARAGRAPH OR AS PARAGRAPH 1 BIS:

"THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM COMPLEMENTS THE CURRENT FORCE PLANNING OF THE ALLIANCE IN TWO WAYS: BY GUIDING BOTH NATIONAL AND NATO SUPPORTING MID-TERM AND LONGER-TERM PROGRAMS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF NATO FORCES, AND BY EXTENDING NATO PLANNING INTO THE LONG-TERM. ITS DISTINGUISHING FEATURE IS ITS STRESS ON ALLIANCE COOPERATION, WHETHER IN THE FORM OF COOPERATIVE OR COMMON PROJECTS, OR IN THE FORM OF NATIONAL AGREEMENT TO DESIGN NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAMS ALONG AGREED NATO LINES."

4. PARA 2 (2ND REVISION) SHOULD GIVE APPROPRIATE RECOGNITION TO PREVIOUS MAJOR DEFENSE PLANNING EFFORTS SUCH AS THE MNC FLEXIBILITY STUDIES AND SACEUR'S

THREE R'S.

5. WE CONCUR WITH FOOTNOTE TO DRAFT PARAGRAPH SIX ON RELATIONSHIP OF LTDP TO ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY. AS MISSION KNOWS, PARAGRAPH SIX AS NOW DRAFTED PRESUPPOSES CONCLUSIONS WHICH THE STUDY HAS YET TO REACH. IN ADDITION, THE STUDY WAS NOT INTENDED PRIMARILY, AS SUGGESTED IN CURRENT PARAGRAPH SIX, AS A JUSTIFICATION

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FOR DECISIONS ON IMPROVEMENT OF NATO DEFENSE POSTURE. RATHER, THE STUDY IS AN EXAMINATION OF SOVIET POLICIES IN THE POLITICAL-ECONOMIC FIELD OVER THE NEXT DECADE -- WITH REFERENCE TO THE INFLUENCE THOSE POLICIES MIGHT HAVE ON RELATED ALLIED MILITARY ATTITUDES. A CLEARER PICTURE OF THE DIRECTION THAT ALLIED CONSENSUS WILL TAKE ON PART III (IMPLICATIONS SECTION) OF THE EAST-WEST STUDY SHOULD BE POSSIBLE AFTER MAY 2 SPC MEETING (USNATO 3974).

6. PARA 7, "RESOURCE IMPLICATION," REFLECTS THE FACT THAT MUCH OF THE PROGRAM ACTIONS CALLED FOR IN THE MID-TERM IS ALREADY IN NATIONAL PROGRAMS. WE WILL NOT HAVE SPECIFIC COSTING FIGURES UNTIL AFTER EWG SIGNS OFF ITS DRAFT REPORT FOR DPC PERMREPS. WE WILL FORWARD RESULTS OF OUR COSTING TO MISSION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HOWEVER, BOTH SOME REPROGRAMMING AND SOME ADDITIONAL EFFORT MAY BE REQUIRED IF RAPID PROGRESS IS TO BE MADE IN CARRYING OUT LTDP PROGRAMS.

7. WE RECOMMEND INSERTION OF A PARAGRAPH 7 BIS, TO COVER NEED FOR INCREASED INFRASTRUCTURE SUPPORT, AS FOLLOWS:

"7 BIS. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE COOPERATIVE APPROACH RECOMMENDED IN MANY OF THE LONG-TERM PROGRAMS WILL REQUIRE AN EXPANSION OF INFRASTRUCTURE FUNDING ABOVE CURRENT NEEDS, AS WELL AS PROVISION FOR REGIONAL OR COOPERATIVE FUNDING IN CASES NOT TO BE HANDLED UNDER EXISTING COMMON FUNDING PROCEDURES."

8. WE RECOMMEND REPLACEMENT OF THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 13 WITH THE FOLLOWING TEXT:

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"IN THIS REGARD, DEFINITIVE MULTINATIONAL DISCUSSIONS ARE CONTINUING TO IMPROVE THE REACTION TIME OF THE 1ST NETHERLANDS CORPS, INCLUDING THE FORWARD STATIONING OF ONE ADDITIONAL BRIGADE."

9. IN THE THIRD SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 14, WE SUGGEST
INSERTION OF WORDS "ESPECIALLY LAND AND AIR FORCES"
AFTER "NATIONAL FORCES" AT BEGINNING OF NINTH LINE.

10. WE AGREE WITH YOU THAT THE BASIC REPORT IS VERY
THIN ON OPERATIVE LANGUAGE IN THE FIVE PROGRAM
SECTIONS, AND THINK THAT IN EACH CASE HEADS OF
GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ASKED TO ENDORSE BROADLY WHAT
DEFMINISTERS HAVE APPROVED. THEREFORE, WE RECOMMEND

STRONGLY THE INSERTION OF NON-CONTROVERSIAL LANGUAGE
LIKE THAT IN PARAS 11-19 BELOW.

11. INSERT FOLLOWING LANGUAGE AFTER PARA 20:

"PROGRAMS REFERRED TO HEADS OF STATES AND GOVERNMENTS:

21 BIS. THE MOBILIZATION PROGRAM CALLS FOR A NUMBER OF
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL RESERVE
BRIGADES OVER THE LONG TERM. THIS WOULD MAKE GOOD
USE OF THE LARGE POOL OF INDIVIDUAL RESERVISTS IN
EUROPE AND WOULD RESULT IN ADDITIONAL COMBAT UNITS
FOR INITIAL REINFORCEMENT, COMPLEMENTING PLANS TO
SPEED UP REINFORCEMENT FROM ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.
HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT ARE INVITED TO ENDORSE
IN PRINCIPLE THIS LONG-TERM APPROACH."

12. WE RECOMMEND STRONGLY THE INSERTION OF THE
FOLLOWING LANGUAGE AFTER PARAGRAPH 23:

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"PROGRAMS REFERRED TO HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT:

HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT ARE INVITED TO ENDORSE
THE NEED FOR THE CLOSEST COOPERATION BETWEEN NATIONAL
AND NATO AUTHORITIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATO
MARITIME PROGRAMS AND CONCEPTS AND THE APPOINTMENT OF
SACLANT AS THE SINGLE MANAGER."

13. WE RECOMMEND STRONGLY INSERTION OF THE FOLLOWING
LANGUAGE AFTER PARAGRAPH 25:

"PROGRAMS REFERRED TO HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT:

25 BIS. THE AIR DEFENSE PROGRAM INCLUDES A NUMBER
OF IMPORTANT COOPERATIVE MEASURES, DESCRIBED IN PART
IN PARAGRAPH 25 ABOVE, WHICH MUST HAVE HIGHEST LEVEL
ENDORSEMENT IF THEY ARE TO SUCCEED. THESE INCLUDE
THE NATO AIRBORNE WARNING AND CONTROL PROGRAM;
DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW ALLIANCE IDENTIFICATION SYSTEM;

INTEROPERABLE JAM-RESISTANT, SECURE COMMUNICATIONS FOR TACTICAL AIRCRAFT; AND NEW SURFACE-TO-AIR REQUIRE WEAPONS. THE AIR DEFENSE PROGRAM WILL ALSO REQUIRE CAREFUL COORDINATION UNDER A SINGLE MANAGER. HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT ARE INVITED TO ENDORSE THE OVERALL PROGRAM AND THE APPOINTMENT OF SACEUR AS SINGLE MANAGER TO COORDINATE AND REPORT ON PROGRESS."

14. WE RECOMMEND STRONGLY THE INSERTION OF THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE AFTER PARAGRAPH 27:

PROGRAMS REFERRED TO HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENTS:

27 BIS. COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF COMMUNICATIONS, CONFIDENTIAL

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COMMAND AND CONTROL INVOLVES MANY DIFFERING NATIONAL INTERESTS THAT CAN ONLY BE BROUGHT INTO ACCORD THROUGH HIGH-LEVEL INTEREST AND SUPPORT. COOPERATION IS PARTICULARLY ESSENTIAL IN THE MARITIME COMMUNICATIONS PROGRAM, DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMON TACTICAL TRUNK NETWORK FOR THE 1990S, A SINGLE CHANNEL RADIO ACCESS CAPABILITY, DATA PROCESSING PROGRAMS, AND AN INTEGRATED WARNING SYSTEM. HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT ARE INVITED TO ENSURE FULL SUPPORT FOR THE NECESSARY COOPERATION."

15. IN PARAGRAPH 37, WE RECOMMEND SUBSTITUTION OF THE FOLLOWING CLARIFYING LANGUAGE FOR THE CURRENT PARAGRAPH:

"37. THE OBJECTIVE IS TO IMPROVE MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS THROUGH BETTER USE OF DEFENSE RESOURCES AVAILABLE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE AND THROUGH GREATER STANDARDIZATION/INTEROPERABILITY OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT."

16. A. REVISE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 38 (AS REPORTED IN CORRIGENDUM USNATO 4033) AS FOLLOWS:

"MINISTERS HAVE ALREADY SUPPORTED DEVELOPMENT OF NEW PROCEDURES FOR SYSTEMATIC LONG-RANGE ARMAMENTS PLANNING, AND HAVE ALSO SUPPORTED STRENGTHENING OF THE MILITARY AGENCY FOR STANDARDIZATION."

16. B. DELETE LAST SENTENCE OF REVISED PARAGRAPH 38. WE SEE PURPOSE OF RATIONALIZATION MEASURES, AS INDICATED IN OUR REVISED PARA 37, AS CENTERED ON IMPROVED MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS.

17. IF ALLIES CAN ACCEPT PARAGRAPH 39, US CAN ACCEPT DELETION OF PARAGRAPH 40.

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18. WE RECOMMEND STRONGLY ADDITION OF NEW PARAGRAPH 40 BIS AS FOLLOWS:

"PROGRAM REFERRED TO HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENTS:

40 BIS. HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT ARE INVITED
(1) TO PLEDGE INCREASED COOPERATION IN DEVELOPMENT
AND PROCUREMENT OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT, BASED ON AN
EFFECTIVE ALLIANCE LONG-RANGE ARMAMENTS PLANNING
PROCESS; (2) TO ENDORSE THE GUIDELINES ESTABLISHED
BY THE CNAD IN THE FIELD OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY
RIGHTS; AND (3) TO ENDORSE THE AGREEMENT TO PURSUE
COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGH PRIORITY SYSTEMS
IDENTIFIED IN THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM."

NOTE: AN ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE IS: "HEADS OF STATE
ARE INVITED TO PLEDGE INCREASED COOPERATION IN
DEVELOPMENT AND PROCUREMENT OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT."

19. WE FIND THE SECTION ON FOLLOW THROUGH ACTION
(PARAGRAPH 42) DEFICIENT IN THAT IT DOES NOT PROVIDE
FOR ANNUAL UPDATING OF PROGRAM OBJECTIVES AND

TIMING IN LIGHT OF PROGRESS AND NEW SITUATIONS.
THIS CARRIES THE CONNOTATION OF A STATIC PROGRAM,
POSSIBLY TO BE MONITORED OVER A FEW MINISTERIAL
SESSIONS, WHEREAS WE SEE IT AS A CONTINUING DEVICE
FOR DEALING WITH CRITICAL PROBLEMS IN IMPROVEMENT
OF NATO DEFENSE. THIS CAN BE REMEDIED BY SUBSTITUTING
THE WORDS "PERIODIC REVIEW BY MINISTERS OF PROGRESS
AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UPDATING OR REVISING PROGRAM
OBJECTIVES AND TIMING" IN LIEU OF THE WORDS "THE
PRODUCTION OF PERIODIC REPORTS FOR MINISTERS" IN LINE
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11.

20. ALSO IN PARAGRAPH 42, WE SUGGEST THAT THE
THIRD SENTENCE BE CHANGED TO READ: "SOME STRENGTHENING
OF NATO'S INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY, BOTH CIVILIAN
AND MILITARY, WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT
OF THESE OBJECTIVES; THIS ASPECT WILL BE STUDIED
IN AN OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE STAFFING IMPLICA-
TIONS WHICH THE SECRETARY GENERAL HAS UNDERTAKEN
TO MAKE, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE NATO MILITARY
AUTHORITIES." SINCE WE BELIEVE VERY STRONGLY THAT
THE INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY WILL HAVE TO BE
STRENGTHENED, WE WOULD NOT WISH TO PUT FORWARD A

FORMULATION EVEN HINTING THAT THERE MAY BE NO NEED TO STRENGTHEN IT.

21. IN DISCUSSING PARAGRAPH 42, MISSION SHOULD POINT OUT US VIEW THAT THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM IS A MINISTERIAL DEVICE FOR MANAGEMENT BY EXCEPTION. ATTEMPTING TO PROVIDE FOR ITS FOLLOW-THROUGH WITHOUT THE NECESSARY ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROCEDURAL CHANGES -- WHICH WE SEE IN BARE OUTLINE AS SINGLE MANAGERS, AN OVERALL PROGRAM COORDINATION AND ANALYSIS STAFF IN THE OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL, A NEW POST AND SUPPORTING OFFICE FOR AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL FOR LOGISTICS AND OTHER MATTERS (BY ELEVATING THE DIRECTOR OF COUNCIL OPERATIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS), AND INCREASED STAFF SUPPORT FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND EW -- WOULD FAIL TO RECOGNIZE OR SUPPORT THE IMPORT OF THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM. WE THINK THE TEXTUAL CHANGES IN PARAGRAPHS ABOVE ARE THE MINIMUM REQUIRED AT THIS TIME TO INDICATE THE NEED FOR SUCH ORGANIZATIONAL STRENGTHENING.

22. CONSEQUENT TO PARAGRAPH 20 ABOVE, WE SUGGEST DELETION OF "POSSIBLE" IN THIRD LINE OF PARAGRAPH 43(E).
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23. WE HOPE TO ARRIVE AT A SUMMIT AGENDA WHICH WILL ADDRESS EACH MAJOR AREA OF THE LTDP IN TERMS OF THE ISSUES AND OF THE REAL CHANGES NATO IS SEEKING.

CHRISTOPHER

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